

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DHA-02 OMB-01 AID-05 PC-01

IO-13 /088 W

-----062347Z 091576 /14

R 061322Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5353

INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0906

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, RH, US, UK, AO

SUBJ: CURRENT ZAPU VIEWS

REF: (A) LUSAKA 0756 (B) LUSAKA 0869

SUMMARY: JOSHUA NKOMO'S CLOSE COLLABORATOR, EDWARD NDLOVU, AT APRIL 4 MEETING MADE STRONG PLEA FOR U.S. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO ZAPU. NDLOVU SAID THAT GENEVA WAS "DEAD" AND NOT MUCH COULD BE EXPECTED FROM THE OWEN VISIT. HE PORTRAYED ZAPU AS TRYING TO PLAY A UNIFYING ROLE AMONG ZANU FACTIONS. HE SAID PODGORNYY HAD PROMISED NKOMO MILITARY ASSISTANCE DURING THEIR MEETING IN LUSAKA BUT DECLINED TO GIVE ANY SPECIFICS. HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COORDINATING COMMITTEE MADE CLEAR THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE THE ZAPU AND ZANU FIGHTING CADRES ARE  
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UNIFIED. END SUMMARY

1. AT A LUNCHEON MEETING WITH RHODESIA COUNTRY OFFICER DAVIDOW, DCM AND EMBOFF, NDLOVU BROUGHT UP AND PRESSED THE ZAPU REQUEST FOR U.S. NON-MILITARY ASSISTANCE MADE EARLIER BY JOSHUA NKOMO TO THE AMBASSADOR (REFTEL A). NDLOVU SAID THE REQUEST WAS BEING PRESENTED SO THAT THE U.S. AT SOME LATER DATE COULD NOT SAY THAT ZAPU HAD

SOLD OUT TO THE SOVIETS AND HAD NEVER ASKED FOR ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S. STATING THAT UNHCR IN ZAMBIA SUPPLIED NO ASSISTANCE TO THE RHODESIANS, NDLOVU EXPRESSED A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR DIRECT

U.S. AID TO ZAPU. SUCH ASSISTANCE COULD BE GIVEN WITHOUT PUBLICITY IF SO DESIRED BY THE U.S. HOWEVER, HE INDICATED THAT ASSISTANCE CHanneled THROUGH THE GRZ MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. IT WAS POINTED OUT TO NDLOVU THAT THE USG WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO SUPPLY ASSISTANCE DIRECTLY TO ZAPU OR SHOW PARTIALITY BETWEEN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS.

2. TO BOLSTER HIS ARGUMENT FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE, NDLOVU SAID SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE FRG WERE SUPPLYING DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO ZAPU. CURRENTLY THERE IS A SHIPMENT OF FOOD AND MEDICINES WORTH ABOUT \$100,000 AT THE LUSAKA AIRPORT CONsigned DIRECTLY TO ZAPU AND AWAITING GRZ CLEARANCE. MORE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WILL BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE DUTCH, INCLUDING BLANKETS AND UTENSILS. HE SAID THAT, DESPITE RESERVATIONS ABOUT THEIR POSSIBLE MILITARY USE, THE DUTCH HAVE AGREED TO SUPPLY SOME TRANSPORT TO DELIVER THEIR SUPPLIES. THEY ARE EXPLORING THE PURCHASE OF TRUCKS IN MALAWI. NDLOVU DECLINED TO GIVE AN ESTIMATED VALUE OF THE FRG ASSISTANCE WHICH HE SAID HE HAD JUST BEEN DISCUSS-ING WITH THE VISITING FRG FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR SOUTH AND EASTERN AFRICA. THIS WAS A FOLLOW UP TO NKOMO'S MEETING WITH FRG MINISTER OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE MARIA SCHELI WHO VISITED LUSAKA LAST WEEK.

3. NDLOVU MADE CLEAR THAT ZAPU DOES NOT EXPECT MILITARY MATERIAL FROM THE U.S. OR OTHER WESTERN DONORS BUT WANTS FOOD, MEDICINES  
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AND SUPPLIES WHICH WILL RELEASE ZAPU'S OTHER ASSETS FOR FIGHTING THE WAR. NDLOVU SAID THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING FOR TWO OR THREE WEEKS IN ITALY IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO SEEK ITALIAN ASSISTANCE.

4. NDLOVU TOOK A DIM VIEW OF THE PROSPECTS FOR REVIVING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. GENEVA IS "DEAD".WHAT IS NOW REQUIRED IS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO DETERMINE THE MODALITIES FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. PRESSED ON WHETHER HE MEANT TO IMPLY THAT SMITH SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM NEGOTIATIONS, NDLOVU SAID SMITH COULD BE A PARTY TO NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THAT HE WOULD BE A PART OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION. WHAT ZAPU WANTS ARE CONCRETE PROPOSALS NEGOTIATED OUT BETWEEN THE PF AND THE BRITISH, WITHOUT THE BRITISH CHECKING WITH THE AMERICANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL NOT AGAIN NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF BEING PUSHED INTO THE GROOVE OF SOMETHING ALREADY AGREED TO BETWEEN THE U.K., U.S., SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. THREADED THROUGH HIS REMARKS WERE REPEATED REFERENCES TO ZAPU'S TOTAL DISTRUST OF THE BRITISH, CONFIRMED BY THE PREEMPTORY MANNER

IN WHICH THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WERE CALLED OFF BY RICHARD. AT ONE POINT, NDLOVU SAID THAT 12 YEARS AFTER UDI THE BRITISH HAVE NOT SELECTED THE NATIONALIST FIGURE THEY CAN RELY ON TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THEY ARE PLAYING GAMES AND NOT BEING SERIOUS ABOUT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. NDLOVU WAS NOT RESPONSIVE TO A SUGGESTION THAT OWEN WILL BE LOOKING FOR IDEAS WHICH COULD GET THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ON THE TRACKS AGAIN. HE SAID NOTHING WAS EXPECTED OF THE OWEN VISIT. NKOMO WILL PROBABLY NOT MEET OWEN IN LUSAKA BUT POSSIBLY IN MOZAMBIQUE WITH MUGABE.

5. NDLOVU AGREED WITH SITHOLE'S STATEMENT MADE LAST WEEK IN WHICH HE SAID THERE WERE THREE GROUPS IN ZANU -- THOSE LOYAL TO MUGABE, TONGAGARA AND SITHOLE (REFTEL B). THIS DIVISION WITHIN THE RANICS OF ZANU PRESENTED ZAPU AS THE LEADING ELEMENT IN THE PF WITH A SERIOUS PROBLEM WHICH IT WAS ATTEMPTING TO RESOLVE BY ENCOURAGING THE FACTIONS TO GREATER UNITY.  
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6. NDLOVU ALSO AGREED THAT THERE WAS MUCH LEFT TO BE DONE TO MAKE THE FIGHTING ELEMENTS OF ZAPU AND ZANU A UNIFIED FORCE. HE

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DHA-02 OMB-01 AID-05 PC-01  
IO-13 /088 W

-----062346Z 084775 /13

R 061322Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5354  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0906

SAID NEW RECRUITS ARRIVING IN ZAMBIA FROM RHODESIA WERE INTERVIEWED TO DETERMINE THEIR POLITICAL PREFERENCE. IF THEY WERE ZAPU THEY REMAINED IN ZAMBIA FOR TRAINING AND IF THEY WERE ZANU THEY WERE TRANSFERRED TO MOZAMBIQUE. THE SAME PROCESS WAS TAKING PLACE IN MOZAMBIQUE WITH ZAPU ADHERENTS BEING SENT TO ZAMBIA. MACHEL HAD URGED UPON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THE NEED TO INTEGRATE ZAPU AND ZANU ADHERENTS INTO A UNIFIED FIGHTING ELEMENTS. THIS WAS A NON-STARTER AS FAR AS ZAPU WAS CONCERNED. MEMORIES OF FIGHTING IN THE ZIPA CAMPS IN MOZAMBIQUE WHEN THIS WAS TRIED IN 1975 AND 76 IS TOO FRESH. A COORDINATING COMMITTEE WITH ZAPU AND ZANU REPRESENTATION HAS BEEN SET UP TO WORK OUT HOW INTEGRATION OF THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE TWO ELEMENTS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED. NDLOVU COULD CITE NO EXAMPLES TO SHOW THAT THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WAS HAVING ANY SUCCESS, OTHER THAN SORTING OUT NEW ARRIVALS FROM RHODESIA AND PLACING THEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR POLITICAL LEANING.

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7. ASKED ABOUT THE PODGORNY-NKOMO MEETING IN LUSAKA LAST WEEK, NDLOVU REFUSED TO BE SPECIFIC. HE SAID LOTS OF ARRVS HAD BEEN PROMISED AND HE EXPECTED THAT THESE PROMISES WOULD BE HONORED.

8. AT ANOTHER POINT IN THE CONVERSATION NDLOVU SAID THAT THERE WERE NO FOREIGN PERSONNEL TRAINING ZAPU FORCES IN ZAMBIA. HOWEVER, ZAPU SENT PEOPLE TO ALGERIA, THE UAR AND SOVIET UNION FOR TRAINING. HE SAID THERE ARE NO ZAPU TRAINING CAMPS IN ANGOLA; THIS IS UNDER CONSIDERATION, BUT THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF SUCH CAMPS BEING OPENED.

COMMENTS: NDLOVU'S VIEWS CAN BE READ AS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF NKOMO'S POSITION. ZAPU CLEARLY IS HAVING TROUBLE TAKING CARE OF THE NUMBERS OF NEW RECRUITS WHO HAVE ARRIVED IN ZAMBIA. IT NEEDS ASSISTANCE URGENTLY IN HOUSING, FEEDING, AND CLOTHING THEM. WE CAN EXPECT TO BE PRESSED HARD TO SUPPLY SOMETHING IN THE WAY OF AID. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IF OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE FORTHCOMING. WE FIND NDLOVU'S CONFIRMATION THAT THERE ARE RIFTS WITHIN ZANU OF INTEREST BUT NOT SURPRISING. PUBLIC AIRING OF TROUBLES WITHIN ZANU ENHANCES THE POSITION OF ZAPU WITHIN THE PF AS THE STRONGER OF THE TWO PARTIES. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED IN LUSAKA THAT ZAPU TRAINING CAMPS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN ANGOLA. WE ARE UNABLE TO EVALUATE NDLOVU'S DENIAL THAT THIS IS THE CASE.

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## Message Attributes

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